

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 01537 01 OF 02 011721Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----011727Z 025268 /41

O R 011550Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5787  
INFO AMCONSUL CAPETOWN  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMZMBASSY LAGOS 769  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 1537

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR RH US UK ZA  
SUBJ: CONSULTATIVE GROUP MEETINGS IN LUSAKA

SUMMARY: DURING TWO DAYS IN LUSAKA, CONSULTATIVE GROUP MET ONCE WITH A PATRIOTIC FRONT DELEGATION LED BY NKOMO, TWICE WITH A UANC GROUP INCLUDING SECOND LEVEL LEADERS AND LAWYERS, AND BRIEFED MARK CHONA'S ASSISTANT PETER KASANDA AND ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER MILNER. THE GROUP'S LAWYER AND US EMBASSY OFFICIAL MET WITH SITHOLE'S LAWYER. NKOMO HAD NO OBJECTION TO MY PARTICIPATION IN THE MEETING AND AGREED TO SUBMIT WITHIN A MONTH A PF CONSTITUTION WHICH HE WOULD WORK OUT WITH MUGABE. THE MEETINGS WITH THE MUZOREWA UANC CONSISTED OF LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS OF CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS. ZAMBIAN OFFICIALS SHOWED MORE POSITIVE SUPPORT FOR INITIATIVE THAN ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. CONSULTATIVE GROUP MET WITH NKOMO AND PATRIOTIC FRONT  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LUSAKA 01537 01 OF 02 011721Z

GROUP AGAINST BACKGROUND OF NKOMO PRESS CONFERENCE PREVIOUS DAY DECLARING PF REFUSAL ATTEND "SPIDER WED" CONFERENCE ON RHODESIAN CONSTITUTION AND DESCRIBING MY PRESENCE AS "MORALE BOOSTER" TO BRITISH RATHER THAN DIRECT INVOLVEMENT. ALSO PRESENT WERE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER, ZAPU LEADERS MSIKA, MADZIMBAMUTO AND MAZARURWA, AND ZANU REPS MAKONI AND GURIRA. NKOMO SAID HE HAD NO OBJECTION TO THE U.S.

ASSISTING BRITAIN IN THE PROJECT. HE OBJECTED ONLY TO OUR COSPONSORING A CONFERENCE. HE HAD ALWAYS STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF U.S. INVOLVEMENT AND THE USE OF ITS INFLUENCE BUT HE DID NOT WANT THE TWO GOVTS ACTING TOGETHER ON AN OFFICIAL AND EQUAL BASIS. HE SHOWED CONSIDERABLE SUSPICION AND SOME BELLIGERENCY IN QUESTIONING OUR METHOD OF OPERATION SAYING HE WANTED TO KNOW WHAT WE WERE UP TO AND WHAT OUR PURPOSE WAS, NKOMO EXPLAINED THAT HE OBJECTED TO A SERIES OF MINI-CONFERENCES OUT OF WHICH THE BRITISH WOULD PRODUCE A CONSTITUTION WHICH THEY WOULD CLAIM REPRESENTED A CONSENSUS BUT IN FACT WAS SIMPLY A COMPILATION OF THEIR OWN VIEWS. THIS, HE SAID, WOULD SIMPLY CREATE A GREATER CONFLICT. HE WANTED A SETTLEMENT, BUT NOT IN THAT WAY. HE BRIDLED AT SUGGESTIONS THAT THE WAR MIGHT CONTINUE FOR A LONG TIME IF THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE NOT SUCCESSFUL. NKOMO SAID HE AND HIS GROUP DID NOT WANT TO DESTROY WHAT HAS BEEN CREATED IN RHODESIA; RATHER THEY WANT TO INHERIT IT. THOUGH SALISBURY MAY LOOK PEACEFUL, THAT WAS ONLY BECAUSE OF THE CONSCIOUS RESTRAINT NOT TO INITIATE URBAN GERRILLA WARFARE. HE AGAIN PROPOSED A CONFERENCE CONSISTING OF THE BRITISH WITH SMITH ON THEIR SIDE AND THE PF ON THE OTHER. WHEN GRAHAM OBJECTED TO THIS, HE EXPLAINED THAT IT WAS THE ONLY LEGAL ORGANIZATION POSSIBLE. SINCE THE BRITISH DID NOT RECOGNIZE RHODESIAN INDEPENDENCE, THE ONLY POSSIBLE LEGAL ROLE FOR SMITH WOULD BE AS A MEMBER OF THE BRITISH TEAM.

2. WE RESPONDED THAT WE DID NOT WANT TO HAVE ANOTHER CONFERENCE THAT FAILED. IT WAS ONLY NORMAL THAT A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE OF THIS KIND BE PRECEDED BY CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LUSAKA 01537 01 OF 02 011721Z

DETAILED CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES INVOLVED. WE SAID WE DID NOT SEE WHAT WE COULD DO TO HELP IF, AS EVERYBODY AGREED, A CONFERENCE OF THIS KIND WOULD FAIL AND ON THE OTHER HAND THE PF WOULD NOT TELL US WHAT IT WANTED, WHICH WAS THE ONLY WAY TO MAKE IT SUCCEED. THE DISCUSSION SUDDENLY RESOLVED ITSELF AFTER NKOMO MADE CLEAR THAT HIS CHIEF CONCERN WAS OVER WHETHER THE BRITISH WOULD CLAIM THAT THE CONSTITUTION THEY DRAFTED WAS A RESULT OF CONSENSUS. WHEN HE WAS ASSURED THAT IT WOULD SIMPLY BE A PROPOSAL AND NO CLAIMS WOULD BE MADE THAT IT REPRESENTED A CONSENSUS OF OUR CONSULTATIONS, HE IMMEDIATELY DROPPED ALL OBJECTIONS AND OFFERED TO GET TOGETHER WITH MUGABE TO DRAW UP A DRAFT TO SUBMIT TO US WITHIN A MONTH. NO EXACT TIME OR PLACE FOR THE NEXT MEETING WAS AGREED ON. NKOMO WAS NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT LIBREVILLE BUT SAID HE WOULD CONSULT MUGABE AND INFORM US ABOUT A TIME AND PLACE.

3. THE GROUP MET FOR OVER THREE HOURS ON MAY 1" WITH UANC REPS CHIKEREMA, NYANDORO, THEIR LAWYERS AND GHANAIAAN LAWYER BENJAMIN WHO IS ADVISING THEM. GRAHAM REVIEWED THE DISCUSSIONS

HELD IN SALISBURY AND INDICATED THAT SMITH STILL OPPOSED  
UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE. HE SOUGHT CONFIDENCE BUILDING  
MEASURES FOR HIS WHITE CONSTITUENTS THROUGH  
CONSTITUTIONAL ASSURANCES, AND AN ORDERLY TRANSITION PROCESS  
AND FINANCIAL BACKING. WE THOUGHT THAT HE SINCERELY DESIRED  
A SOLUTION AND THAT IT WAS THE TOTAL MIX OF THESE ELEMENTS  
WHICH WOULD COUNT. THERE WAS SOME FLEXIBILITY IN HIS POSITION  
AND HE MIGHT BE WILLING TO CONSIDER UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRANGE  
IF OTHER ARRANGEMENTS WERE FAVORABLE. UANC OFFICIALS SHOWED  
SOME SUSPICION OF THE WORD "PACKAGE", RECALLING THE KISSINGER  
PROPOSAL. HOWEVER, THEY INDICATED A WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER  
SUCH CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES AS TEMPORARILY RESERVED  
SEATS FOR WHITES, AND STRICT NON-RACIAL ENTRENCHMENT PROVISIONS.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 01537 02 OF 02 011704Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----011707Z 025051 /41

O R 011550Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5788  
INFO AMCONSUL CAPETOWN  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 1537

EXDIS

THE MEETINGS WERE BUSINESSLIKE AND THE UANC APPEARED ANXIOUS  
TO BE REASONABLE AND PRACTICAL IN CONSIDERING CONSTITUTIONAL  
AND TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. I DID NOT PERSONALLY PARTICIPATE  
IN THIS PART OF THE DISCUSSION AND DID NOT ATTEND THE SECOND  
MEETING ON JUNE 1 WHICH WAS ENTIRELY DEVOTED TO A DETAILED  
DISCUSSION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

4. BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER MILES, GRAHAM AND I BRIEFED  
PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT KASANDA AT THE LATTER'S REQUEST FOR  
COMMUNICATION WITH PRES KAUNDA WHO HAD LEFT FOR EUROPE BEFORE

OUR RETURN. WE DESCRIBED THE MEETINGS IN SALISBURY, OUTLINING THE RHODESIAN POSITION, AS WELL AS MEETINGS WITH THE PF AND OTHER NATIONALISTS. HE ASKED ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE FRONTLINE AND WE MADE CLEAR THAT WE WERE BRIEFING EACH OF THE GOVERNMENTS WHENEVER WE VISITED THEM BUT THAT WE WERE CONFINING OUR CONSULTATIONS TO REPS OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE. HE AGREED THIS WAS QUITE PROPER. IN GENERAL KASANDA INDICATED MORE INTEREST IN OUR PROGRESS THAN ANY ZAMBIAN GOVT OFFICIAL HAD BEFORE. HZ SEEMZD ENCOURAGED BY OUR REPORT AND SYMPATHETIC  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LUSAKA 01537 02 OF 02 011704Z

TO THE NEED FOR SOME CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES JUST AS ZAMBIA HAD ACCEPTED THEM IN ITS INITIAL CONSTITUTION.

5. WHILE ABOVE MEETING WAS GOING ON, CONSULTATIVE GROUP MEMBERS STEELE AND FLYNN WITH DCM CLINGERMAN ON THE U.S. SIDE MET WITH SITHOLE'S LEGAL ADVISER, DAVID ZAMCHIYA. STEELE EXPLAINED GROUP WOULD BE MEETING SITHOLE NEXT WEEK AND CONFINED HIS COMMENTS TO AREAS OF INTEREST TO SITHOLE IN PREPARING FOR THAT MEETING. HE SUMMARIZED THE CONVERSATIONS IN SALISBURY, INDICATING THAT SMITH MIGHT BE BROUGHT AROUND ON THE FRANCHISE QUESTION IF OTHER FEATURES OF THE PACKAGE WERE SATISFACTORY INCLUDING EUROPEAN REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT, ENTRENCHMENT FEATURES OF THE CONSTITUTION, AND ASSURANCES ON LAW AND ORDER. ZAMCHIYA ASKED ABOUT THE MOOD IN SALISBURY TOWARDS UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AND INDEPENDENCE IN 1978 AND EXPRESSED INTEREST IN DETAILS OF THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND, REQUESTED INFORMATION ON RHODESIAN DESIRES FOR ASSURANCES DURING THE CARETAKER AND TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, AND SHOWED INTEREST IN INTEGRATION OF THE GUERRILLA AND REGULAR FORCES.

6. WE MET FINALLY WITH ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER MILNER, WHO OF COURSE IS HIMSELF RHODESIAN. WE REPEATED THE BRIEFING WE HAD GIVEN KASANDA. MILNER SHOWED SYMPATHETIC INTEREST. HIS PRIMARY CONCERN WAS OVER CONTINUED RHODESIAN INCURSIONS INTO MOZAMBIQUE AND THE BUILD-UP OF RHODESIAN TROOPS ON THE ZAMBIA BORDER. NOT ONLY WOULD THESE ATTACKS OUTSIDE OF RHODESIAN TERRITORY DAMAGE PROSPECTS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT HE SAID IT THEY CONTINUED, THERE WAS A POSSIBILITY THAT MOZAMBIQUE MIGHT ASK FOR SUPPORT FROM FOREIGN TROOPS WHICH MIGHT HAVE TO CARRY THE WAR INTO RHODESIA. THIS, HE SAID, WOULD OBVIOUSLY CREATE ALMOST INSURMOUNTABLE OBSTACLES TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. WE MADE CLEAR OUR STRONG OBJECTION TO INCURSIONS OF RHODESIAN TROOPS INTO OTHER COUNTRIES, NOTING THAT WE HAD EXPRESSED THESE VIEWS FORCEFULLY. WE GAVE HIM A COPY OF OWEN'S MESSAGE TO PRES KAUNDA CONDEMNING THE RECENT ATTACKS. I SAID WE HAD MADE CLEAR TO BOTH THE SOUTH AFRICAN AND  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LUSAKA 01537 02 OF 02 011704Z

RHODESIAN GOVTS OUR OPPOSITION TO SUCH ACTIONS. MILNER  
EXPRESSED THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE ZAMBIAN GOVT FOR OUR  
INITIATIVE AND WISHED US WELL. HE SAID THIS WAS PERHAPS  
OUR LAST CHANCE AND ADDED THAT WE MUST MOVE AS RAPIDLY AS  
POSSIBLE.

LOW

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** MEETINGS, INFORMATION CONTROL, NEGOTIATIONS, CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 01-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977LUSAKA01537  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770195-0279  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** LUSAKA  
**Handling Restrictions:**  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t197706103/aaaadmdx.tel  
**Line Count:** 233  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 10eb0773-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION SS  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 15-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2003490  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CONSULTATIVE GROUP MEETINGS IN LUSAKA SUMMARY: DURING TWO DAYS IN LUSAKA, CONSULTATIVE GROUP MET ONCE WITH A PATRIOTIC FRONT DELEGATION LED BY  
**TAGS:** PFOR, RH, US, UK, ZA, ANC, (NKOMO, JOSHUA), (KASANDA, PETER), (MILNER)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/10eb0773-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009